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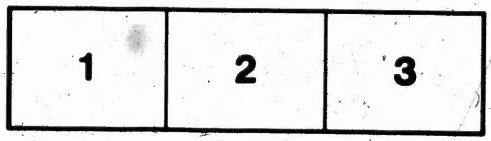

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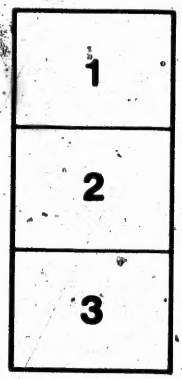

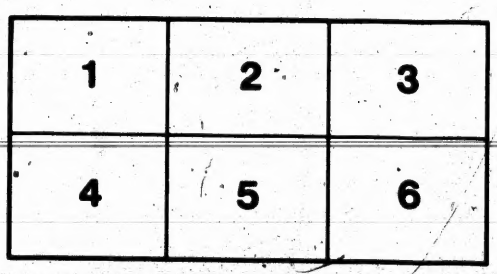

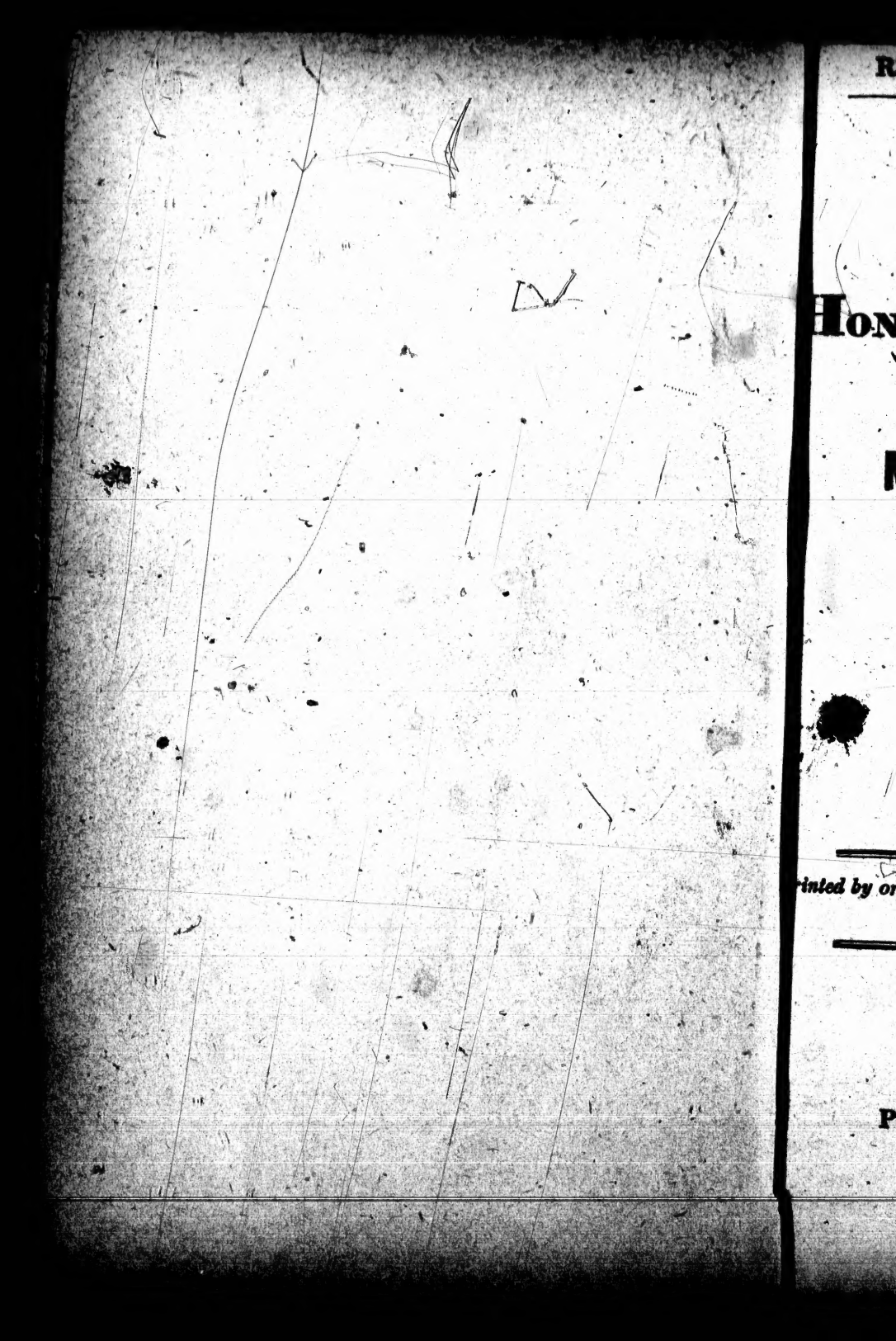

READ AND PASS IT TO YOUR NEIGHBOUR.

SPEECH

OF THE

HON. L. J. PAPINEAU,

AT THE

MEETING OF THE COUNTY

OF

MONTREAL,

ON THE

15TH MAY, 1837.

Printed by order of the Permanent and Central Committee of the County of Montreal.

Montreal:
PRINTED BY LOUIS PERRAULT,
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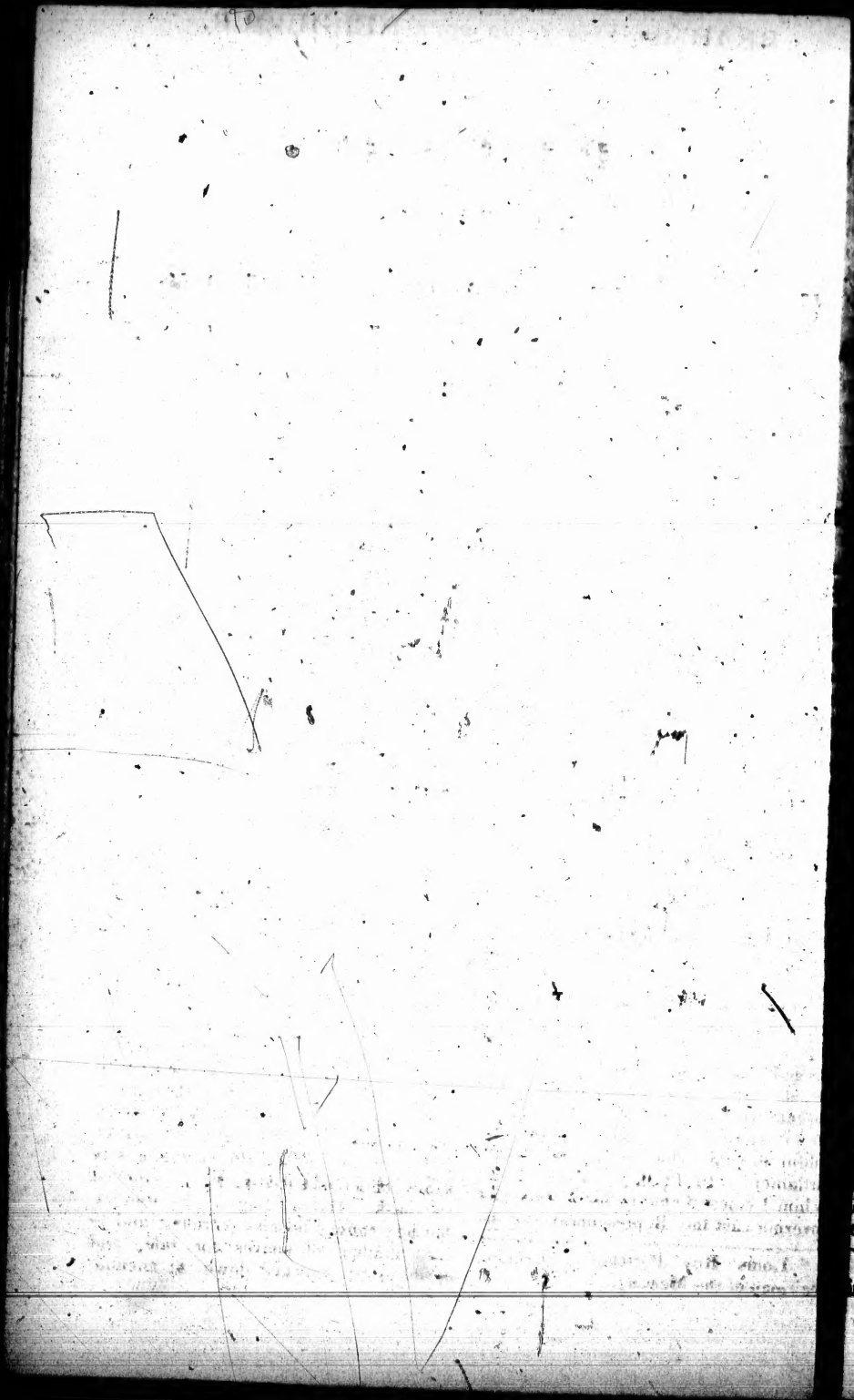
1837.



SPEECH

OF THE

HONBLE. LOUIS JOSEPH PAPINEAU,

the MEETING of the COUNTY of MONTREAL, held at *St. LAURENT*, on the 15th of May, 1837, to take into consideration the atrocious attack of the British Ministry on the Rights and Liberties of the People of Lower Canada and adjoining Colonies.

LOW-CITIZENS:

e have assembled, under circumces which, however painful, afford dvantage of enabling you to distinyour true, from your pretended, ds; those who are with you for an from those who are always with We are at war with the old eneof the country—the Governor, the Councils, the Judges, the majority e other public functionaries, their tures and tools, whom your Repretatives have, long since denounas forming a corrupt faction, inimical e rights of the People, and prompted terest alone to support a vicious sysof Government. This is not alarmThat faction, when left to itself, owerless. It has the same disposiwhich it always had to injure, but it no longer the means. It is al- a mischievous beast, inclined to and to tear, but it can only roar, beyou have clipped its claws and its fangs. (Cheers.) Times have ged with them: judge how they are ed. Some years ago, your old Reentative,* whom you have just choto preside at this Meeting, always ful to your interests, served you in ament. In 1816, when shortly afim I entered into public life, a bad ernor cast the Representatives of the people into jail. Your Representatives have since driven away bad Governors. Formerly, the tyrant CRAIG was obliged to appear more wicked than he was, in order to strike terror, and to govern, and to shelter base courtiers, his accomplices, from the complaints of the Assembly. He failed to frighten. The people laughed at him, and at Royal Proclamations, at Pastoral Letters, and sermons out of place, extorted by surprise, and fulminated to frighten. To-day, in order to govern, in order to shelter base courtiers, his accomplices, from the punishment which the House of Assembly justly inflicted on them, the Governor is obliged to assume a lachrymose appearance, for the purpose of exciting pity, and to pretend to be better than he really is. He appears humble and friendly, in order to deceive. Honey on his lips, and gall in his heart, he has done more mischief by his artifices, than his predecessors by their violence. Yet the mischief is not consummated, though his artifices are exhausted. The publication of his instructions, which he had mutilated and misinterpreted; the publication of Reports, in which it is admitted that this trickery was necessary for him, in order that he might commence his administration with some chance of success, have removed the mask. He can buy a few traitors, but he cannot deceive patriots; and as the number of knaves for sale, and ready to be knocked down at auction,

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* Louis Roy Portelance, Esquire, irman of the Meeting.

cannot be very great in an honest country, they are not to be feared. The novel circumstance of which our everlasting enemies seek to take advantage is, that the British Parliament is opposed to us; that the Minister, disregarding the just complaints of the people, has feeling and prejudices only for corrupt officials; that he wishes to steal your money to pay your servants whom your Representatives have refused to pay, because in the opinion of that competent authority, they have been lazy, faithless and incapable; whom they wished to dismiss from your service, because of their evil-doing; who insolently remained with you against your will, and, when you refused them wages which they did not earn, combined with foreign thieves to rob you. This difficulty is great, but it is neither new nor insurmountable. The Americans gloriously beat this all-powerful Parliament some years ago. It is consoling to Freemen to look back to 1774; to applaud the virtuous efforts, and the complete success, which overcame an attack similar to that which is about being made against you. Its injustice has already obliged us to contend against this all-powerful Parliament, and our constitutional resistance has before now arrested it. The Minister shewed himself an oppressive tool in the hands of the official faction of Canada, in 1822, and the House of Commons shewed themselves to be the docile slaves of the Minister, by supporting, by a great majority, her attempt to unite the two provinces. MELBOURNE, the Minister, is equally the instrument of oppression which the same Official and Tory faction of Canada employs in its service; and the great majority of the Commons is again the servile crew which the Minister drives as he lists, on a colonial question of which they understand but little, and to which they attach no interest. The times to prove men are arrived. Such times are of great use to the people. They teach them to distinguish those who are fair-weather patriots, whom the first stormy day disperses; those who are patriots when no sacrifices are to be made, from those who are patriots in times of sacrifices; those whose only merit consists in crying "Huzzah! we are with the majority, but if it does not succeed pret quick, we shall keep aloof, and rema quiet;" from those who say—"In goo and bad fortune we are for the people if they be ill-treated, we shall not kee aloof; we shall not remain quiet; w shall defend them at every risk; w contend for principles, and if these a violated, we will maintain them again all authority whatsoever, so long as o hearts beat—so long as our lips can pr claim the truth, give vent to complain or scatter reproach. (*Loud cheers*) You understand the importance of t subject which has called us together. W are not here to give the reins to a just in dignation, to fiery appeals to vengeanc and the passions, which would be only t well justified. We are here to conver together familiarly, without reserve o concealment, without dissimulation or r gard for perverse men or iniquitous mea sures; to occupy ourselves with our com mon interests; to calculate what is th extent of the evil which is attempted t be inflicted on us; who are its odious au thors; what opposition we can offer; wha punishment we ought to inflict upon them The extent of the injury they wish to in flict upon us is the insult and contumel with which a persecuting government re pels all and each of the reforms whic you have demanded; it is to prepare fo you a futurity worse than the past whic has been insupportable. It is, in fine, to rob to plunder you of the fruit of your swea of your labor, to keep in pay, and to ren der more insolent, your servants, again whom you have already but too muc cause to complain. (Cries of "Tis true.") The English have, in all times, ever sinc they had a representative system of gov ernment, professed, and sealed with the blood, the doctrine that their Kings an Officers had no right to receive any othe salary, any other supplies, than those t which they had given, through their Re presentatives, their free consent. The have always believed that they wer equally justified in drawing the sword a gainst him who violated the law in endea voring to break open the door of the house to rob them, and against those wh violated the law in seeking to break ope the doors of the *dépot* containing the pub lic money, the keys of which they had en

ed to their Representatives. In this and legitimate defence of their pro-y, they have often hunted out of the dom rulers who violated rights so r. Sometimes they chopped off their ds. All this was for the establish-t of a right which Lord JOHN RUS-L, at the instigation of Lord GOSFORD, out to violate. History tells us that the lish did well to hate their oppressors, r as to imprison them, hunt them them. We should therefore well to hate our oppressors r as to beseech them, at least for the of their own honour and our happi-, to set sail as soon as possible.

he electors of this County have almost ys well performed their duty. You ful-l it, nearly 40 years ago, by choosing for representative a man so firm and ho- as is our respectable Chairman, and et invariably, since that time, men like those now representing you, resembled him. If error has some-occurred; if candidates came to ustings with protestations of devo- so plausible that you have been tempt-to take them at their word, and have discovered contradiction some-t later between their promises and conduct, you have not been slow to em justice. You have seen that he drew near Governors, always drew y from the people, because Governors all had the mania of placing them-s in an unconstitutional opposition to Assembly. They have always wish- to be masters when they are servants; to herd us and to drive us n they should follow us. Not one of *has* ever come, not one of them *will* come, to take a lively interest in welfare, but for the purpose of effec-y advancing his own. They very discover that the majority of the ials resemble them so strongly in respect, that it is not long before they me good friends, and make common against you and your Representa- In this point of view, the last is not better than those who prece-him. The present Governor has re-mended all the evil with which the istry now threaten you, and which is hideous than has ever before been rienced. He even demanded that much greater should be inflicted on you, but the Minister does not fully second his ardour to injure you, and does not propose the solicited repeal of the 1st of Will. IV. There are men who formerly supported the cause of the country against all the other Governors, who have made war against them for much smaller faults, who now, deserters from the cause of the people, crouch at Lord Gosford's feet, and consider good in him what they considered bad in his predecessors. So long as there was nothing but his fine words and false promises, they might have been pardoned; but since his writings, more strong than his professions, have come to light, people must have a dose of self-love as strong as their love of country is weak, not to recover from such a strange blindness. Other Governors have, like the present, violated the *depôt* of the public revenue. They did so with some hesitation, through the vague, however distant fear of impeachment by the House of Commons. The present Governor labors to overthrow this last and feeble barrier to the rapacity of those who will, like him, leave their country, their family, their pleasures, for the love of you, say they; for the love of your money, say I. There will be no longer a curb to the shamelessness with which Governors have almost all exhibited themselves, as needy adventurers, by their impudently violating the law, and committing robbery, to pay themselves their own salaries. I know of no other country where a similar crime has been so long perpetrated with impunity. Public morality is outraged and destroyed, if honest men do not brand with their fixed and open contempt; do not isolate by their determination to have no relation even of common civility with them; do not denounce as enemies of Canada, all those who, from the highest to the lowest, from the Governor to the Constable, will receive the public money in conformity with the disposition either of a British statute, or of any other authority than that of your Representatives. The money which Lord Gosford has taken; the money which he causes to be taken through Lord John Russell; the money which the latter does not permit him to take, although he has

asked to be so permitted, are all motives which (if you have had cause to hate Dalhousie and Aylmer) will trebly justify your hating Gosford; which if you have accused the former with sufficient unanimity, energy and perseverance, to see yourselves rid of them after long years of suffering, make it your duty to accuse the present Governor with sufficient unanimity, energy and perseverance, to rid yourselves of him without much delay. Long before now, indeed, he should have left the Province if there had been any honesty or truth in the declaration which he repeated to every one he met on his arrival, that if he should not acquire the confidence of the country; if he should not effect great reforms; if he should not re-establish contentment, he would not await the arrival of a frigate to set sail, but would throw himself into the first timber ship which would leave Quebec. Hope must be long lived with this man, if he imagine that the niggardly reforms which his flatterers report he has the good intention of trying, when he arouses from his long lethargy, will be such as to gain him great thanksgivings. We are aware, by the answers which Lord John Russell has given to our demands for reform of the positive evil he has done; the good that he meditates is still an impenetrable mystery or a gratuitous fiction.

You have demanded, in the proportion of 90,000 to 10,000, that the Legislative Council should be elective? No! replies Lord Gosford's echo; that the Executive Council be responsible to the Commons of the country! No! that a tribunal worthy of public confidence should take cognizance of the malversations of Judges and other prevaricating *employés*; No! that the usurpations of the British Parliament, by its acts of internal legislation for us, be repaired by the repeal of those acts; No! It would take me from this to to-morrow to detail in this way all your just demands, and all the refusals which hatred and intrigue have prepared for you, through the intervention of the most useless Commission that could have ever been imagined. Well! then—do all these unjust refusals change your determination to have those Reforms? No. Do they give the man who has recommended these refusals title to your esteem—to your money? No. When he goes away, what then will he take with him? Our money? Yes. Our good opinion? No. He has long foreseen that such must be the issue of the administration which, in its first year, has already brought forth for you more bitter fruits, for itself more humiliations, than its odious predecessor had devoured during the whole time of his continuance in office. He has received them in handsfull from all parties, and from all shades of opinion. As to what concerns the people, he has allowed good laws, without number, to perish in the Legislative Council, without the slightest effort to save them. You have a knowledge of his loud lamentations, his bitter regrets, his unjust reproaches against your Representatives because they did not give your money to him, nor to the other officials, whom they did not consider deserving of it. No person could have more tender, more sensitive bowels of compassion, more exquisite sensibility for the cravings of the official horde, nor heart more steeled against the sufferings of the people. Is there a single man amongst us all who has any knowledge that the expression of the faintest regret, of the slightest reproach, escaped Lord Gosford's lips, at the unconstitutional refusal, by the Legislative Council, of the bill appropriating £40,000 for the advancement of primary education? No. A feeling of unbridled hate, brutal persecution, most brutifying ignorance, saturate the skulls, ulcerate the hearts, of those who could resolve to shut the schools on 40,000 children assiduous in going there, and disposed to profit by them. Everlasting execration fall upon these detestable persecutors of the people who have committed this irreparable evil! Gosford and his associates are the confederates. Not one word of disapprobation did he express against this enormous injustice, which weighs not on the luxuries of a few officials too highly renumerated, but on a whole people; on one of the first necessities of the industrious classes. On the contrary, an effort is made to palliate the atrocity of this misconduct, in the Commissioners' report in the big book, which will soon be known by a name already familiar—"the Bos

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…e three impostors." The Council, they, through fear that sufficient money would not remain in the chest for the ment of the arrears, and in consequence of some other defects in the law, not concur in that bill. This culpable robation will find culpable approvers, , to excuse it, will pretend that the vernor, out of respect for the independence of the Council, should not have inted himself in causing that measure e adopted. What servile adulation hose who, inventing this futile and ious chicanery, do not protest against misplaced reproaches that the same allowed himself to make to the se of Assembly! Which of the two es is constituted to be independent of Governor, and which to shelter and to him? The Council was never instiexcept to be moulded, ground, and rated, by the interest and whim of moment of those in power, who ted it only on the express condition it should be always obedient and ervient to their ends. The Council be guided by an instinct which binds a certain set of actions, which the er that dragged it from nothingness foresee or dictate. When, therea Governor would have said to these mata:—"Your heart, if you have y, is so dry, that it says nothing in vor of the entire youth of this country. it so. But your masters' interest es not permit that you should expose m to the reproaches, to the shame ich in the nineteenth century will grace them, if they appear, by the rking of their crouching dogs, to be posed to education, to be the pat…ns of an ignorance more gross than at of the ninth century—of an ignoce equal to that of the greater numr among you." This hint would been nothing more than a gentle ing, less humiliating than the tortures h they must have endured whilst conng to some law favorable to the Coun…uch as that of an annual appropriation r Sir Francis Burton, despite their pre… refusals, or some very palpable con…ctions within the twenty-four hours, as the emigrant tax, rejected one e unconstitutional, and adopted on morrow, at the Minister's beck! How little of a Canadian heart must the man have, no matter what may be his name, who could be the parasite and the Swiss of the *Chateau*, commissioned to defend it, right or wrong, before and against all, so long as it should be temporarily occupied by Lord Gosford, in order to excuse his silence in regard to the School Bill; who could have read the apology which he made for the Council on that subject, and not admit, since that time at least, if he did not proclaim it aloud, that every day of that man's continuance in the country is an insult and a cruel scurge, to be delivered from which we cannot importune too loudly. Let others falsely flatter him, as he loves and treacherously drenches them, for the purpose of degrading them; you will never pardon him when you think that there are hundreds of children organized by providence to surpass him in talent and in knowledge, whom his callous indifference, his distraction from business, or his abandonment to pleasure, will have deprived of the benefits of instruction, because he did not know how, or did not wish, to move one step, or say one word, in order that the Council should give your, not his, money for the support of your schools. The Jury Bill; the Municipal Corporations Bill; the Bill to complete the Chambly Canal; in favor of which he would not give himself the trouble of writing a Message of pure form, for fear of allowing to slip out of the public chest some particle of your revenue, which he was determined that the British Parliament should purloin, and a multitude of other good laws, passed under bad Governors, have been rejected under this one, without his making the least effort to preserve them, or expressing the least regret at their loss. As for the humiliations which he devoured, is it necessary to call to mind the taunts and defiances which the "Rifle Corps" cast upon him? the philosophical quietude with which he can daily read and re-read, the names of the three hundred persons who were enrolled in this foolish and guilty association, a list with which they furnished him, to render it laughing-stock of him, impassible as he did nothing against any of these, not even against those who, bearing commissions as officers of Peace,

were so well prepared for *War*—the official mockery with which the Magistracy informed him that it set his proclamation at nought, inasmuch as there was no longer a "Rifle Corps," but a simple and innocent "British Legion—" the little touch of self-esteem which he felt, transiently, when he demanded the names of the magistrates who assisted at this solemn deliberation, followed as it was, a few days afterwards, by his reinstating them, with the most devoted humility, in the commission of the peace, thus proving that for them he would always have a heart overflowing with forgiveness of injuries, and of the innocent blood which they tyrannically had caused to be shed. Is it necessary to call to mind, that after having had the support of a numerous part of the members of the House of Assembly, who believed in the sincerity of his promises of reform; who, in the hope which he created and did not realise of seeing the composition of the two Councils improved, pluralities separated, and delinquent public functionaries punished before the meeting of the Provincial Parliament, were disposed to support him whilst waiting for constitutional reforms which they promised their electors to demand, and which they are not, I hope, (as represented no doubt falsely by Gipps the intriguer) disposed to abandon that last September—he lost that support? Is it necessary to call to mind that he is spurred on by a man so shortsighted as to have induced him to convoke the Parliament at that epoch, (whilst, according to his instructions, he was at liberty not to call it if he expected no success from such a proceeding,) with the assurance that the minority had become the majority, and that a great many others were ready to become weather-cocks, like him who could divest himself of the most exalted demagogueism to pass over to the most abject servility, and that there was no doubt but that he would have a session and money? The blind led the blind and both have fallen into the ditch. There was neither session nor money. He has thus exhibited greater lack of influence than any of his predecessors. Is it necessary to call to mind that he has put it out of his own power to effect, with any chance of success, any change in the composition of the Legislative Council which could entitle it to the confidence of the people? If he could have dazzled and seduced by nominations ambiguous at least, made before his deals of justice and constitutional reform his contempt for constitutional principles in soliciting the interference of the Provincial Parliament, to plunder you of the public revenue had become known, he would have had some means of entrapping, of dragging into the House of Incapables, some influential citizens. But as that Lord Gosford's political principles are promulgated, whoever enters there at his nomination, must well understand that he goes there to support his doctrines. Were it not for that publicity, he could have said, like Lord Aylmer:—if you believe that an Elective Legislative Council be necessary for the return of peace and good government, go there, to add more weight to the demand when it shall be supported in the two Houses; any political arrangement possible is preferable to their continued disunion. It is clear, if he dared avow that the political arrangement which would be most acceptable to this most liberal whig, to this enlightened and profound politician, would be that which would rid him of the House of Assembly altogether and forever, since he considers it just to strip it of its control of the Revenue, without which it is less than nothing, less than he, and would have no influence over him, over his successes over the public servants, than he had in autumn over the deliberations of the Assembly. He knows that all the men of the greatest influence, and permanent interest in the country have signed petitions insisting on the indispensable necessity of rendering the Council elective. He cannot select any of the majority but one who, for the sake of entering into a body already nullified by the discredit and disfavor which it has justly earned, would consent to abjure the engagements which he assumed for the country, and with the country. From that moment he would barter all his influence for the livery of the Council. He must then humble himself to make his elections, from the "constitutional" min-

or from any other obscure minority, en whom he will drag out of the po- l torpor in which, far from public they have always slept, to instal them theCanadian peerage, that counter- of base alloy, of another ge, which itself is worth but Let him depend upon it— dministration is at an end. His is gone by; another Governor is ne- ry, to pass away as fast as he, if he e to prop up the worm-eaten sys- —to establish for himself a great and reputation, if he is desirous to re- truct that system anew, in accordance the wishes, the wants & the locality of ontinental Colonies bordering on the d States—such as might bear a able comparison with the most per- structure of government that genius irtue have ever erected for the hap- of man in society. The European ial system must be remade and re- r misery, hatred & dissensions, are so the natural and constant result there- at all the Colonies have the most ur- motives to hasten the hour of their ation. Whoever says Colony, says e and insolence for the governing; dation and penury for the govern- The United States cannot have nies. Their constitution provides rehand that a Territory, so soon as 60,000 souls, can constitute itself a free and independent State. It be- s the master and absolute arbiter of wn fate. It has not to fear the nomi- n of officers set over it for a season, nrich themselves at full gallop, and wards to digest their enormous and quired gains three thousand miles off; licit the general government to inter- & give to foreign monopolists the pub- nds, at one-third of the price at which ls them to resident citizens; to de- the local legislature of the right to ate all its local expenses, when and it understands best; to alter and to re- laws and local customs, without com- ending any thing about them, and to duce insecurity into the enjoyment of erty, and uncertainty into the admin- tion of justice. To declare war, to e peace, and to regulate commerce, general government, formed of dele- from each separate State, decides sovereignly. Apart from these limited attributes it has scarcely greater authority over the weakest of the States of the Union, than it has over the most powerful foreign empire. Whoever should settle in one of these sovereignties, cannot entertain, nay, nor imagine, the pretension insulting to the people of which he is about to form a part, that, because he comes from another country, a difference of origin should entitle him to special privileges; that for his protection it is necessary to change the institutions which the immense majority of the native population desire, and a thousand other extravagances which Europeans spout in all the Colonies. This government is so well regulated, that the thirteen provinces, all disunited and incessantly quarrelling whilst they were English, have extended over a territory four times as large as that which they then occupied; have quintupled their population; doubled the number of the states, and formed twenty-six independant sovereignties, grouped around the general government, and which govern themselves with infinitely greater ease, harmony, concert, strength and prosparity, than they ever knew, or could have ever reached, had they remained in colonial servitude and bondage. This Government is so well regulated, by the known and defined boundaries of the distinct and separate attributes of all the authorities, that an equal number of additional new states, an entire continent, could unite and confederate with it, without the least derangement of the uniform movements and continued progression of the entire whole. Successive accessions of one State, then of another, cannot cause an unnecessary addition, nor introduce a misplaced piece to injure those which move in a regular orbit, from which nothing can force them to depart. The place of whoever will desire to enter into the Union is marked out beforehand; it is that of equality and fraternity with the freest institutions in the world (cheers). That union is seductive; ours at the present moment is humiliating. Should we, therefore, forthwith repudiate the one, and espouse the other? Softly!— If this were the only arrangement that could re-establish peace in the country, yes, we should have recourse to it. If it be

clear, and well established, that Lord John Russell's determination is a fixed and settled plan, which he will carry out hereafter, unless we submit to all his demands; that the colonies are preserved, not for the reciprocal interests of the people, but for the sake of ministerial patronage and corruption, the history of the old plantations will re-commence with the same inevitable result. The Whig Ministers of William the Fourth do not desire this result, but they do not prepare it less than the Tory Ministers of George the Third, if they wish to revive the tyrannical pretensions which the immortal authors of the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDANCE have sufficiently refuted, and which the sword of WASHINGTON appeared to have killed and destroyed, accompanied by circumstances sufficiently humiliating to the aristocratic pride of the British Parliament, to allow colonists to hope that an attempt would never have been made to revive them. It said that it would never tax the colonies for the purpose of creating a revenue; that it would never undertake to appropriate their revenue. Lord Gosford and Lord Russell have invited it to lie; to falsify its promises; and they have found men disposed to lie, and to forfeit their honor. It is true that they assured them that the same determination, if it was backed by a large majority, would seem to us to be wise; that if it were carried only by a small majority, it would appear to us foolish. It is always easy for a noble ministry, styled Whig, to have a point of reconciliation with a noble opposition called Tory. Amongst them it is but a question of a little more, or a little less, knavery, in the choice of means the most fit to restrict within the most narrow limits the pretensions of the people to share the exercise of power. The people of the Canadas, they will have said, go beyond the limits within which you and we would desire to restrain them. Allow us to commit one injustice against them, we will allow you to commit another against some other colony. This always strengthens the good principles of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, in favor of the friends which you and we alternately send thither to pluuder them. Besides, there is no risk. Our Commissioners tell us that we dare every thing against those stran whom we have never well governed, consequently can never think well o but who, in spite of all that, hate Americans much more than they hate and, in consequence of that antip will suffer every thing from us. I h no doubt of it. People in England h themselves by the foolish supposition we entertain the most violent prejud against our nearest neighbours, and error is the principal cause of the s with which they embolden themselve ill-treat us more and more viole The American Government is the l expensive that it is possible to conce and the best adapted of all to excite e lation of the most advantageous natu the State. All the situations being el ive, they are filled alone by the aristo cy of nature; that which Providence nishes to society for its happiness; aristocracy of virtue and of talent. Europe, and here, on the contrary, are filled by the unnatural aristocrac birth, of wealth, of intriguing baser which hell or folly have imposed u society for its opprobrium or misfort The British Government, having refu us all the reforms which we solicited, it possess the same title to that sup which we lavished on it when the cou was invaded by our neighbours, as if it granted them? We were then told our own peculiar laws were placed u the safeguard of British honor power, and that all the attributes and chises of a subject born in the Metr litan State were ours as a common heritance. To-day our laws are up we are strangers in the land of our b and those who come from beyond sea, lay claim to political arrangem to protect them against wicked thren. All the art of the Comm oners had but one object—that of pe uating that separation of races, by t tioning it with affectation on twenty casions, when there was no occasio do so; in making perceptible their pa predilections in favor of their Euro fellow-subjects, and their narrow an thies against their Canadian fellow- jects. Nothing in the conduct of House of Assembly justified the assu

hension that it might be led to abuse wer for the purpose of harrassing the rity. This malignant and false im- ion, to which they have given so weight sufficiently refutes itself, he simple fact that the Assem- which naturalized all the foreigners ight come and settle in Canada, s by this act of liberality, that it is able of adopting the contradictory of throwing obstacles in the way of atural and rightful settlement of fel- subjects. Whoever comes to parti- e our lot, and as our equal, is a d, who will be welcomed, no matter e the place of his birth may have . Whoever comes arrogantly to decide thinks fit, of our lot, and of our in- ts, and with blazoned pretensions of riority, is an enemy, who will be un- ome, no matter where he has been All this system of calumny a- t us is invented only for the sake of ficials, and to prop up the vicious m which makes them so rich, the ince so poor; which is so favorable ir irresponsibility, and so injurious free and certain action of the laws. lly, when the Minister is seen attack- o rudely, through favor for them, the certain principles of public law; n by paying them he liberates them all check, from all control on the of the Representatives of the people, not a number of undeceived partizans don a government which organizes ny and despotism? Resolutions a- ed by so large a majority of the House ommons subservient to the will of the ster, are sufficient to induce me to that that Government will never be towards Canada unless the Radicals e into power; that henceforth Canada t not to degrade herself by demanding ce from it, but that she should prepare cure justice for herself. But, some will the most odious of those Resolutions at which goes to deprive you of your ey is not yet passed—should we wait?* Whether they do pass, or ot pass our course is the same. Both ernments, that of the cruel step-mo- ther, and that of the Colony, have proposed it—have demanded it, you will never repose confidence in them. The measure of their wrong is complete. It is consummated as far as it depended on them. They may be stopped. I, however, do not expect they will. They have gone too far to draw back with a good grace. They will not draw back of their own accord. The English people watches and threatens them. Their generous sympathies burst forth in our favour. In the House of Commons, the *elite* of the most distinguished talents in England have come forward with a hundred, nay a thousand times more eloquence than I possess, to hurl the bitterest indignation against the atrocious persecution which ministers prepared for you; to denounce in terms the most fitting to disgrace them in the eyes of all Europe, the inconsistent contradiction of their policy, which at the end of, and after ages of oppression against unfortunate Ireland, becomes liberal because Ireland makes herself dreaded; which is so lowly and cringing towards Russia, which makes itself so dreaded, and which is so unjust, arrogant and scornful in regard to Canada, whom they do not fear. They feel the indignity with which we are ill-treated, as sensibly as we can do, and advise us, with more boldness than I do, immediately to have recourse to resistance. They reproach us, if we have not recourse to it. A member of Parliament, a gentleman of the greatest wealth, of the finest talents, of the soundest principles, of the most honourable devotion to the cause of the People, to the love of justice and to the liberty of Canada, exclaimed, in presence of ministers:—"Yes, if you pre- "tend to consummate your work of iniqui- "ty, the Canadians are morally bound to "resist you. Yes, if the blood flowed in "their veins similar to that which produc- "ed WASHINGTON, FRANKLIN and JEF- "FERSON, they would drive you from "their Country, as you have been justly "driven from the old Colonies." Meetings have been held in London, at which the People echoed these noble sentiments; these energetic invectives against the guilty ministers; this benevolent sympathy for your sufferings; these encouraging hints that it is our duty and our interest to repel violence by violence. It is, I

*The time-servers are now deprived of this excuse. *All* the Resolutions—"the most odi- ous" inclusive—are passed.—ED.

must say, neither fear nor scruple that induces me to tell you, that the hour is not yet come, when we ought to respond to this appeal. No! it is not fear. If it was necessary, the strength of the country, distant as she is from England, and bordering us she does, on the United States, could accomplish that object. Neither is it scruple. Whoever is familiar with the history of the just and glorious revolution of the UNITED STATES, sees such an unanimous agreement among the most enlightened and virtuous men of all countries in the world, who applaud the heroic and moral resistance which the Americans opposed to the usurpation of the British Parliament, which wished to rob them, and to appropriate their revenue, as it pretends today to do with us and ours, that it would in a manner be associating ourselves with the greatest and purest reputations of modern times, to march successfully in the line traced by the Patriots of '74. The situation of the two Countries is different; and our friends in England do not understand it when they believe us blameworthy, and an inferior race, if we do not at once resist. I know a little my country, in consequence of having studied her history, and from having been cast by circumstances for thirty years in all the most active engagements of public life, determined to perform my duty inflexibly whilst engaged therein, unconcerned, on my own account, whether I continue in it, or rather desirous to quit it, if the triumph of the people's rights afforded me a favorable opportunity. During that long space of time I have seen your Representatives assailed unceasingly, and without relaxation, in turn, by violence, calumnies, caresses or artifices of the Executive, and of a venal press, which it corrupted directly sometimes, always by preferences in printing, and often by bribes of those on whom it bestowed or to whom it promised honors or profit; yet I have always seen those Representatives come victorious out of each struggle; by each general election more and more purified and devoted to the popular interests. Public opinion is formed. The more you have seen them ill-treated, the more you have shewn your affection and zeal to take them under your protection. Whoever has detached himself from the majority of the Assembly, has ended by espousing the passions & interests of officials whose corruption had established, whose punishment he urged. He has lost your confidence. The wave of Democracy has flown irresistibly over a declivity, which becoming more and more rapid, will without violent efforts overthrow the feeble barriers which you are raising to oppose it. Under these circumstances, ought we crush, or is it better to worry, a bad government, by constitutional resistance which it compels which it should be made to experience in parliament? Certain of the success of future elections during many years to come, is it necessary violently to destroy the tree, with sticks and stones, on the fine day in autumn, when every thing beckens the fall of the fruit on the second day? Those who commit robbery, which would justify, at the outset, extreme measures, have lost all moral influence in Canada. You have seen with what facility your Representatives have erased Stanley's insolent menaces. It is true that he recollects the circumstance that he vents his rage and projects of vengeance. But his rage and his projects are powerless when he is not in office from which his treachery to all parties has probably for a long time excluded him. If nevertheless, he, or those in whom he can instil his prejudices and madness, redouble their efforts against us, we should prepare ourselves to be ready to meet them wherever they wish to go. If they advance one step in the road of illegality and injustice, let us move forward one step equal and more rapid in that of resistance. They have advanced one step in their proceedings, we shall take two the day in ours. These will suffice for the moment. They will facilitate others, by and by, if they should become necessary. (*Cheers.*) The sinner must be punished through that in which he sins. The government of English aristocrats hates you for ever. They must be paid in return. They hate you because they love despotism, and you love liberty because you ceased to send them loyal addresses, which you have replaced by remonstrances and protests against the misconduct of their servants in the midst of you. But all that which excites the persecutions of the government against us, ex-

the enthusiastically expressed sym-
ies of the English people in our favor.
were weak because there were in the
t of us a numerous portion of our fel-
citizens that erroneously believed that
mperial government was more en-
ened, was less malevolent towards
as more inclined to justice than the
nment of the Colony. Soon they
ndeceived. The one and the other
r every other consideration subordi-
o that of anxiety for these officials.
t you were waiting for reform, the
nt administration called to the ma-
y men who insulted it; who dicta-
it; who frightened it by the support
they afforded their "Riflemen"
had they done any harm one day in
would have been chastised on the
day by the people of the Country.
administration called also to that
ission of the peace men whose hands
d with innocent blood, have not been
shed by an acquittal from a petit
nd who have seen all the civil and
ry authorities combined to withdraw
from the serious trial which they
have undergone. It sent back to
the Bench, a Judge whom drunk-
tumbled from it. It withdraws
criminal prosecutions, which they
have undergone, prevaricating pub-
ctionaries, whom it convicts of em-
ment; whom it seems to have dis-
with regret by suspending in their
he due course of the law. How
t dare indeed to punish severely a
which itself committed under another
As regards this Country it is the con-
on of those administrations against
you have unanimously complained:
ministers its pernicious counsels
been more disastrous. It cannot
emand your confidence, and your
, until it will have succeeded in
ing from you an expression of re-
ce for the protests which you have
for ten years past, and for the libe-
ctions which you have made; un-
will have admitted that you are
d to erase your signatures, and to
your Representatives who have
faithful to the trust which you
in them. I believe I may
e administration, in the name of
nths of the electors, "let it come if
it dare," and make such extravagant pro-
posals. (*Loud cheers.*) You know the evil
which is intended, and its guilty authors.
Let us bethink ourselves of the means of
remedying that evil, and punishing its au-
thors. Your oppressors insolently re-
fuse you the reforms to which you
are entitled. Let us combine more
and more closely to harrass and
counteract them in all their projects.
They have assumed the mission of
distressing the majority under the ly-
ing pretence of protecting the minority.
Let them continue the unconstitutional
system of a minority government. Those
of their toad-eaters who are not yet pur-
chased, are on the eve of seeing, that
there is no other motive for persisting in
this absurdity than the filthy considera-
tion of pecuniary emolument, and that
they are incapable of any more elevated
feeling. Gold is the God which they a-
dore. Let us kill their God. We shall
thereby convert them to a better religion.
The reforms which we demand would
diminish the expenses of government by
twenty thousand pounds a-year. This
is the real objection which Ministers
have against consenting to our demands.
If they deprive their friends here of this
revenue, fifty various colonies and pos-
sessions will demand like reforms. Each
of them separately would not cause a
great diminution in the means of ministe-
rial influence—that is, corruption. But
the reforms extended to all, would restore
to the people millions of which the aris-
tocracy rob them. Since they will
not consent to a voluntary restitution,
let them make a forced one. It is gree-
diness that renders them insolent and
guilty. Poverty will make them civil.
We can very soon deprive them of more
than twenty thousand pounds which they
receive in excess, and when Ministers
will perceive that we have taken back the
substance, they will very soon cease to
persecute us for the shadow. We must
do good to ourselves, and to our friends,
and inflict injury on our enemies. I
should be far from inveighing this maxim
in private life. There we must pardon
our enemies, and return good for evil.
But a people must repel persecution, at
all cost, at all hazard, and make it fatal
to those who have recourse to it. (*Loud*

cheering). Two-thirds of the revenue of which we are about to be robbed, is composed of taxes which we pay each time we drink a glass of wine, or spirituous liquors, or a cup of tea with sugar. Our consumption of articles which are totally unnecessary, is greater than that of the iron which we use in building, or in clearing and cultivating our lands, or of the leather and cloth which we wear on our persons. One year with another, we have not exported sufficient wheat to pay for the wine and spirituous liquor which have been imported. This error is sufficient to impoverish us, and enrich our enemies. To reform effectually this frightful disorder, we need not the assistance of gentlemen. They are too often sensualists; more attached to their wine, and their luxuries, than to the interests of their country. In all countries it is the mass of the people, it is the middling and poorer classes, that furnish the revenue. It is the upper classes that devour it. It is by no means the twenty or thirty dollars paid by a small number of families rich either from industry, credit, or peculations, that swell the revenue. It is the one, two, or three dollars, which a hundred thousand heads of families voluntarily paid, when their Representatives could regulate the employment thereof in supporting Schools, improving the Country, and which they will soon cease to pay, when they are insulted and robbed.—From the pretension of the British Parliament to plunder you of £140,000 without your consent, will soon flow that of despoiling you of whatever the rapacity of governors may urge them to demand. If you admit that this interference can be tolerated, in the robbery of the smallest portion of your property, you admit that you will suffer it and the robbery of whatever portion soever thereof a Parliament, which has sworn on its faith and honor not to do any such thing, may determine to wrest from you. And since it is disposed to commit perjury at the beck of the ministry, what hope remains to us, that it will stop short at any excess to which the same authority may drive it? It gave you the Declaratory Act of 1778, by which it pledged itself not to appropriate your revenue. Through respect for this principle, it gave you, some six ye ago, the first of William the Fourth. Lords Gosford and Russell wish th should degrade, by contradicting, it and by repealing these acts, *de facto*, cording to the wish of Lord Russell, expressly by a law according to the ultra and tyrannical desire of Lord G ford. They forget the deep disgr which was imprinted on the forehead George the Third's ministers when the claratory Act of 1778 was passed. finest and strongest army that Europe yet sent to America, had just grounded arms before simple American Militia unorganized and undisciplined: be good farmers, such as we still have, know how to love their Country an *shoot pigeons*; who were strong only the justice of their cause, but who unacquainted with the first element military tactics. This formidable tish army was commanded by ge Burgoyne, a member of the Hou Commons, who after having aided ters, by his vote and speeches, to pre oppression for the Americans, lent arm and his sword to complete it, and said, to crush them without any diffic Nothing was more insolent or more guinary than the proclamation which promulgated on his entry into the ene territory, by which he allowed only a delay to its inhabitants to come in lay down their arms before him, an solicit pardon for their rebellion, or fal der the irresistible force which he manded, or under the tomahawk and to of his Indian allies, who, he added, too numerous for him to restrain the ry. After all this gasconading; aft had lost the half of his army, he hi surrendered his arms before the time expired which he had allowed for re ance, to those whom he menaced such brutal ferocity. That was a d rejoicing to the people; a day of terr their tyrants, who in their consta tion passed the Act of 1778. Those now demand the violation of that Act, double the humiliation of England by rying her on to acknowledge that it not justice, but compulsion, that c her to proclaim that charter of Co rights which she is now about to (*Loud cheers.*) Is it then so pain

ive ourselves of the enjoyment of useless luxuries?—to refrain from ing liquors poisoned with a tax hence- odious, since its effect is to render ontemptible if we pay it? What is dvice given to us by our friends who so honorably defended us in Parlia- ? They have told ministers:—the dians will find the means of punish- ou. They will combine to diminish trade and revenue. They will learn low the example, as wise as honora- furnished them by the Americans. denunciations are an advice found- the knowledge they have of the ef- which can be produced on all that unds them. This was the proceeding ed by the Americans ten years be- ghting. They began well and they ed well, under circumstances similar se in which we are placed. We are eginning. Well, we know not where nd will stop. We therefore cannot here Canada will pause. (*Increas- ering.*) Combinations against the of the metropolis; encour- ent of the establishment of domestic factures; praise-worthy habits of la- d of avoiding luxury commenced in Thenceforward began the increase public wealth; the means of em- g, ten years afterwards, all that had aved, all that had not been lavish- wines and silks, which were unne- y, in purchasing powder and can- which they required. We may that the metropolis, instructed example, will not reduce us to the extremities. This is but a hope— certainty. Without going so far, example of industry and of econo— useful to us in times of peace—it ispensable to us in times of trouble. ever may be the uncertain futurity reserved for us, the time is come their first good examples of non- mption are worthy of our imitation. uires a degree of dogmatism and try more than cynical, to perceive g but ridicule in the means of le- te defence which were so powerful es past, and which enlightened co- oaries devoted to our cause, recom- us to adopt; which pushed forward inistry, urged by its covetousness of people's property, & next cause them to be dragged backby the indignation of the English people who would not tolerate the least loss of its gains, either through respect of ministerial pride, or to add to the too great influence and oppressive power of the aristocracy, and which emboldened the colonists in that salutary resistance they were far from foreseeing or desiring when they commenced their organization of committees of correspondence and non-consumption. There are men who believe that protests and non-consumption are insufficient, and that circumstances demand more rigorous measures. These are at least good Englishmen; good Canadians; perhaps better than we who are not ready as yet to follow them. But those who endeavour to cast ridicule on the proposed measures as being too violent; who reject them without proposing better, I cannot help suspecting of having, either through levity, ignorance, a mania of contradiction, or through venality, doffed the Canadian *capot gris*, (grey coat) to assume the goldlaced livery of the Castle of St. Lewis. Gentlemen, I see before me citizens from every parish in the County. I recognize there the solid, durable and deserved influence, which has carried every election. Weigh the reasons which I give you; weigh those which other tried friends will give you in support of the resolutions which are about to be read to you, and on which my conversation with you is but a commentary. If you find them good, if you adopt them, I know that they will become, by your recommendation, by your example and by your explanations, the rule of conduct for your fellow-citizens. With the degree of action which each day will supply for the state of our affairs; with the means of increasing that degree of action, according to the new appearance they may assume; with the inflexible and persevering resolution to finish by obtaining justice, that is sufficient for the object which we ought to have in view—the obtainment of justice. I believe that we should pledge ourselves to discontinue the use of Wines, Brandy, Rum, and other imported and duty-paying spirits. It will be found advantageous, in a public and private point of view, to abstain from these articles. At least let those who think that they derive a bene-

fit from the use of spirits—let those who will use them, use those only which are manufactured in the country, rather than those which are introduced from abroad. You, farmers, in particular, would thereby promote your own interests. It is remarked, both by strangers and by the best farmers among you, that too large a portion of land is sown with wheat. That is owing to the circumstance that until late years, the smaller grains did not bring a price sufficiently high to defray the cost of raising them. Breweries and distilleries will give them that higher value. It would be much better to give them to cattle; but at least by selling them at a higher price, nearer the residence of each farmer within the County, the general advantage will be promoted. When the inferior description of grain bore no value, wheat was sown in land which was not naturally fit to produce it in large quantity, or was in bad order, because the season was too short to prepare it properly. There was a bad crop of wheat, where an excellent crop of rye, or of oats, could have been raised. Wheat being sown every where, the loss to the country, in a bad year, was immense. Rotation of crops is the best improvement to the land; affords a longer season for work, and supplies each spot of ground with the seed which agrees best with it. If one fail, another succeeds; and so much distress can never be experienced as if the whole failed at once. Let those who are desirous of bringing about this happy result, and make use of stimulating liquors, at least drink the whiskey distilled from their own grain in their own neigbourhood, in preference to those which come from abroad, which are often poisoned by injurious drugs that kill the body, and are now poisoned by a tax destructive to our liberties and disreputable to our honor. They diminish a revenue sullied by usurpation. They will be promoting their own interests—injuring the enemies of their country, and those who consent to receive the illegitimate price of their own slavery. (*Loud Cheers*). Some will exclaim:—but this is destroying trade. I answer, in the first place, that if commerce was inseparable from the triumph of our oppressors, inseparable from our degradation, we should destroy commerce. But this is not the case. Our efforts can give it another and a better direction. They tend neither to destroy nor to diminish it. What will be spared on one useless or dangerous article, will be employed in a better purchase. That is all the difference. The trader will very soon accommodate himself to the taste of the customer. He will not purchase those articles which you will not require; he will buy only those which you look for. Few are so foolish as to hoard dollars for the stupid pleasure of looking at them and counting them. It is for the pleasure of wisely or foolishly spending them, profitably or unprofitably. Form parish associations. Make them as numerous as you can. Tell the storekeepers that you will give the preference to articles of Canadian or American manufacture. They will become the depositaries of our manufactures, and those of our neighbours, instead of those from beyond the seas. There will be some difference in the price and quality, and according to the taste and resources of each the stores of merchants will be visited and their trouble and measuring will be repaid, and they will second you. Tell the tavern-keepers that in a short time (in order to allow them to dispose of their stock on hand of taxed liquors,) you will not go near them unless they sell in preference the Whiskey of the country. They will help you. Your support given to each house is all that suffices to make the others very soon do the same. As for sugar, Providence has declared itself in favor of this oppressed country, and has given us a large crop of that article, which will assist many poor people, and injure the revenue of the rich evil-doer, who wishes to live on stolen money. It is through vain boasting that I say it; the determination is too natural to have much merit. I at once renounced the use of refined sugar, which was taxed, and have purchased maple sugar for the use of my family. I have procured smuggled Tea, and I am acquainted with many persons who have done as much. I have written to the country ordering home-made linens and woollens, and I hope to have them soon enough to enable me to dispense with buying imported articles. I have ceased putting wine on my table, and have

my friends:—If you can satis- yourself with pot luck, with water, anadian cider or beer—accompanied by onversation full of indignation, if per- ance politics, either Whig or Tory, me in question; full of gaiety if the bject be light; the greatest variety we an find on times present or past, or what- er comes into our heads; then come nd dine with me—but *no wine!* (*A ugh, and a cry of "That's right."*) t first this departure from received usa- e was somewhat embarrassing, but I ave already learned in eight days that e get accustomed to nothing easier than stick to our resolution when we are onvinced that we are acting well. (*Cheers*). To increase our flocks, that e may have more wool; our cattle to at them; to manure the land; to tan ore leather, and to have more mechan- s to work up a greater quantity of pro- ce; to sow more flax, for the purpose having more linen, and of usefully oc- upying, during the long winter, our in- ustrious and handsome countrywomen, hilst they gaily sing at their loom, and e helping us to free the country from rbitrary taxation; all that can be very on obtained in this country if those ere present will it. (*Cries of "aye, e."*) In other countries, other men as od as we, but no better, will do as uch. Let us not mind timid men, hom every novelty frightens; egotists, whom the lightest sacrifice appears im- acticable; frivolous men, who live but r their pleasures; or men sold to pow- , who never distinguish between legiti- ate and illegitimate exercise of authori- : who are thankful when it gives m a kick behind, because it did not e it to them in front. We are not ade to proceed with any of these men, r like them. Let us begin our Associ- on. It will be stronger the second an the first month, and more so every . We are taken somewhat by sur- se. We are not so well prepared to ch the revenue as the parties inter- ed are ready to plunder it. Honest n never expect all that wicked men e. The moment the Commissioners' Reports become public, it must have n foreseen that Ministers, after having en so inconsiderate a step as that of naming a Commission, the appointment of which was an insult to the Representation of the country, would be bound to follow their most senseless recommendations in order not to expose themselves to the sarcasms which their fantastical choice was adapted to provoke, if in consequence of the incoherence of the Commissioners' ideas, and the ill-disguised disagreement which existed between them, the Minister should permit himself to drop a word of censure on them. All the refusals of reform recommended by the trio do not, therefore, surprise me. The spoliation of the public revenue, recommended by men, two of whom are ignorant, and the third, although instructed, appeared to all those who knew him as having the head a little cracked, is somewhat unexpected. The consequence is, that at first there are many articles of necessity which cannot be procured by smuggling, and which it will be necessary to procure by regular importation. But smugglers will come to us in a few weeks. We will be under no necessity of going to them. American cotton, and leather, raw and manufactured; tea, coffee, tobacco, and a thousand different articles, French books, and German linens, will be found, if we will prefer them, on the counters of merchants, without having paid any custom-house duties. The smuggler knows more about it than we. Whilst he is occupying the attention of the custom-house officer in examining a bale of trifling value, in order to pay the duties, he will always find means to run several others behind his back without paying duty. The non-consumption of taxed products cannot be sudden nor general, but if it becomes systematic, and determined on, as our rights, our honor, and our interest demand, it will extend gradually more and more, with sufficient rapidity to punish and humiliate our persecutors. You have for a great many years signed petitions to the King, to the Lords and to the Commons, in which, enumerating your past services for the defence of the province in time of war, you demanded security for your lives and your rights, in default of power. For have no more security for any thing whatsoever, the moment the [illegible] power is [illegible] on your lives whilst you [illegible] not

only in cases which quibblers may represent as unforeseen, such as the Tenures Act, but also in foreseen cases, in which it promised not to legislate. So long as these flagrant encroachments continue, no person, I hope, will ask you to sign petitions to authorities which not only have not listened to you, but which are about doubling their injustices. When they shall have spontaneously made some act of reparation, it will be time to enquire if we ought to give them a mark of confidence and respect, by asking any thing from them. Until then, there would be shame and degradation in presenting a petition to them. But there is another authority from which we can, with some just hope of success, make honest demands, without the fear of seeing them scornfully rejected. That is the Congress of the United States. All the grain which is exported to that country is taxed on its entry there. This measure was not adopted against us in particular. It was adopted against all nations indiscriminately with a view of raising a very great revenue to pay the public debt which they had contracted, to resist twice the attacks of England. That public debt is paid, and the United States' government is almost the only independent government which enjoys the incalculable advantage of having no public debt. Last winter, our brother Reformers of Upper Canada prepared a petition to Congress, to demand that timber, grain, and other Canadian produce, might be carried thither duty free, to obtain a drawback of the duties which foreign merchandize paid at their ports when they will have been transferred to these provinces. Congress alone can accomplish the first of these measures. The second will require negociations, which will have greater weight coming from a Republic which is feared, than from feeble Colonies which are trifled with. That petition has been presented and received. Unfortunately, there were but two or three days of the Session to run; it was too late to have any possible decision. Nevertheless, letters from persons of influence have stated that they, and other members of the American government, were well disposed to favor that measure. It costs 18 or 20 pence at present to send a bushel of wheat to England. The merchant who purchases it, is therefore obliged to pay him who grows it 18 or 20 pence less, because the consumers are at such a distance from us. The towns and manufactories in the United States have so rapidly increased of late years, that the lands in their neighbourhood can no longer supply them. There are therefore mouths there, as well as in Europe, to eat our grain. What will it cost us to carry it to them? No more than three or four pence the bushel. If then there were no duty of fifteen pence per bushel at the American frontier, we should carry our wheat thither with our horses and batteaux, if we wished. Who would save these fifteen pence and these three or four pence of transport? The farmer who would wish to do it; the farmer who has all the trouble of growing the wheat. Who gains them now? The English merchant who carries it in his ship. It is the same thing with other grain, timber and other produce. With the exception of owners of European ships, we have all the greatest interest in having a neighbouring rather than a distant market, in which we might sell the fruits of our labour. This good petition to Congress will be offered in a few days for your signatures, and for those of the other Counties in the Province. It is for so useful an object, that I will with pleasure be among the first to sign it.—I proud and as glad to address it to an authority from which I expect justice and kindness, as I would be ashamed to address it to those from whom I expect only the same feeling. (*Loud Cheers.*) But to obtain signatures to this petition; to form associations for the encouragement among us of new manufactures, which will assist the lukewarm to second us in our efforts to diminish the consumption of taxed articles; to collect intelligence proper to give us information as to the choice of articles of which it would be useful to hasten the manufacture or the smuggling; to correspond with all the Counties, the neighbouring Provinces, England or elsewhere, with every quarter whence we shall meet sympathy, with our brother Reformers and Radicals who desire justice and liberty for mankind and who believe that all the institutions are the best adapted to all to procure them imprescriptible bene-

these require the organisation of a
unty Committee which will have power
dd to its number, whenever it shall be-
me useful to do so. A couple of persons
n each parish might suffice to establish
auxiliary Committee in each. If
similar system of organization
established in a great part of the
ovince, it will introduce unanimity and
ncert in our efforts, which alone can
der them efficient. It is according to
sketch of the plans of Ministers, as
plained by Lord John Russell's Reso-
ions, that we propose the measures of
caution detailed at this moment.
ose resolutions will be followed by a
which may modify them singularly,
d render them worse or less wicked.
prisals more or less strong will be ne-
sary according to the character of this
. Under all circumstances, a nume-
meeting of Delegates elected at the
unty meetings, ought to sit in Conven-
n at no distant day, to point out all the
ent of the evil which would result from
h parliamentary interference, and in-
ate with weight and authority, the
ice of additional measures the best
apted to destroy such an object. All the
mbers of the Assembly, and of the
uncil, who shall have participated in
meetings at which the People act,
enter into combination against coer-
n, who will give their adhesion thereto,
uld of right be members of the Con-
tion. Some would wish that these
should form that Convention. In
inary times, and for the business of
slation, which they must transact with
other co-ordinate branches of the Le-
ature, they are perhaps in sufficient
mber. In extraordinary circumstan-
, when there is a question of assuming
responsibility of proposing measures
h at first cannot have other sanction
public confidence, these persons are
haps not sufficiently numerous. They
desire the assistance of the lumi-
s and patriotism of talleagues whom
County meetings will furnish. It
ld, moreover, be difficult to expect to
them all together to Metz who in the
ent would unhesitatingly maintain the
of other countries because they have
special obligations towards their
ents, themselves by the
ights of citizens, and indicate to legis-
form the same duty in a meeting to which they would not be summoned by proclamation. Some might be of opinion that in petitioning Parliament for reforms in the constitution, we had recognized the competency of that tribunal, and invested it with the right to decide, *en dernier ressort*; that it is not for us any longer to examine if its decisions be just or iniquitous, but that we must submit thereto, judgment having been pronounced. The individual who has been often at law, will have frequently received from his lawyer nothing better for consolation than these sorrowful words, and he will say that we must bear the wrong inflicted on our country with the same resignation that he supports the evil of an unjust judgment. Such a man would not meet a CONVENTION in which it would be maintained that a nation has no other Judge in last resort but GOD, and that to no authority on earth can it delegate the right of unjustly judging. The Executive, and all its creatures, would intrigue and argue from the absence of a part of the members from such a Convention, that the meeting of a portion and not of the whole, would nullify its recommendations until they would be abated, confirmed or negatived, in regular session. But a part of the people—and in my opinion the great majority will not permit itself to be degraded and plundered—will not wait, in order to protect itself until the Executive shall choose to call the Parliament together. The people will appoint by special elections, those whom they will find disposed to adopt immediately defensive precautions; who will be disposed to meet and adjourn to such period as shall be determined on, not by the Executive, but by the progress of encroachments in England. Some of the persons here present should therefore be chosen as Delegates to meet for that purpose; those of the Representatives and members of the Council who, like you, are of opinion that we should thereby deliberate in Convention on the [illegible] in which Lord John [illegible] about to place [illegible]

(*Cheers.*) Will the Representatives of the Country ever be degraded to that humiliating degree as to vote money when they can no longer do so freely? when the official declaration of the Governor will be the set phrase: "Gentlemen, His Majesty expects from your liberality that you will give the ordinary supplies for the support of his excellent government," with a mental reservation, if you do not vote them, that they will be dragged from you. Let him who likes lend himself to this farce, dishonoring to the Comedian who will perform it with an air of sincerity and a tone of gravity, and to the trembling slaves who will witness it with an air of respect. The part is not what becomes the Representation of Canada; it is not what can be feared from it unless it will hereafter degenerate very much; unless it abjure the engagements which it has solemnly entered into since a number of years. Our revenue rifled by the British Parliament, the Representatives who, under the load of that usurpation, would vote a halfpenny to the Governor who invoked it, would become his accomplices and his instruments, to establish your slavery. It would be much better not to have any representation, than to have one which would deliberate on objects of legislation with the feeling that it was not free to say yes, or no, on any of the propositions which might be made in favor of interests adverse to those of its constituents. (*Loud Cheers.*) Those who have caused the misfortune of the country; who have exercised power so abusively as to have carried conviction to all minds that the removal of a few guilty men would be only a partial respite to the sufferings of society; that nothing but a change of system which would create a responsibility, without which successors in office would be perverted and soon become as criminal as those whom they replace—have had the insolence some times to say to Reformists:—"why do you not go elsewhere and enjoy institutions you find so good?". It is because we find them so good that we are determined to remain in the country to procure them for it. It is because the old English fictions have enjoyed the rights to elect their Governors, their Legislative [illegible] Representatives, their Judges, their Magistrates, their Collectors of [illegible] that the people are entitled to the same extent of privileges when they shall des[erve] it. It is because (even at the mome[nt] that the British ministry was lending its to violence which for ever destroys eve[ry] feeling of esteem and confidence for m[en] of its caste *en masse*,) one of the ca[bi]net admitted that they should not pers[ist] obstinately in governing the coun[try] against the will of the majority, and th[at] if it does persist in its course, it will [be] the duty of parliament to finish by yie[ld]ing, that I entertain the hope, thou[gh] feeble, that we possess the means of o[b]taining more than we have yet demande[d] and successively all that we shall ask. [As] long as that shall be the expectation of [the] great body of the people, we must restr[ict] ourselves to measures analogous to the[se] we adopt to-day. If ever that expectat[ion] be destroyed, circumstances will dec[ide] on those to which it will be then nec[es]sary to have recourse. But I rely [as] much on you as on myself. The pri[n]ciples which have invariably guided me [for] thirty years have only been strengt[h]ened by every new vexation agai[nst] my country, and you and I shall [not] cease to demand full and entire justi[ce] good weight and measure, according to [the] knowledge and will of the people, and [not] drop by drop, in niggardly petty dea[ls] which is sufficient for the capacity a[nd] good-will which all governors and [all] ministers, from Lord North to the pres[ent] time, have had for us. In public life, c[ir]cumstances have placed me in opposit[ion] during 30 years, to the greater numbe[r] Governors, and in consequence to the [in]numerable and insatiable horde of f[la]terers and parasites who derive all t[heir] importance and ease from the mast[er] favors, because they discover no reso[ur]ces in themselves, or do not apprec[iate] the value of the first of blessings, indep[en]dence of mind and character. Hen[ce] spring violent and numerous political [en]emies. There is nothing to which a p[ub]lic man ought to be so indifferent wh[en] he is sincere—he ought to be proud [of] and rejoiced, rather than sorry at the c[ir]cumstance. And as far as I am conscio[us], I hope, however I should require [to] correct myself in other respects, th[at] shall live in my latest hours, in the p[er]suasion of that political faith [illegible] entire fidelity, in the midst of [illegible] enemies, I have never ceased to [illegible] (Loud and long continued cheering.)